

INTRODUCTION.

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part of the vocabulary, from the dialogues 122
 and tales, with other words. In the next 128
 place, having written down sundry exam- 164
 ples in English, illustrative of every part [197] •
 of speech, in a variety of forms, and upon
 a variety of subjects, I gave them to Mr.
 Mariner to translate into Tonga, accord-
 ing to the strict idiom of that language:
 by this method we began to perceive what
 could be translated, and what could not;
 we discovered where the Tonga language
 was poor in expression, and where it was
 more richly endowed; what were the fun-
 damental principles of construction, and
 what the particular idioms and exceptions
 to the general rules:—and thus proceed-
 ing, step by step, the character and genius
 of the language were unfolded; and, at
 length, we arrived at that degree of theo-
 retical knowledge of the structure of it
 which is now, for the first time, presented
 to the public.

Every attempt to afford accurate inform- 000
 ation respecting the manners, customs,
 and sentiments of any portion of the hu-
 man species, cannot but be considered, in

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who was present at this horrible feast. The language of these people is very different in sound from the Tonga language, and is much more harsh to pronounce; it is replete with very strong percussions of the tongue, and with a frequent rattling of the letter *r*. It is rather a curious fact, if true, and it appears to be so from all that we can learn, that the language of the Sandwich islanders is more similar to the Tonga language than that of the Fiji islanders, though the latter people are not more than about one ninth part of the distance of the Sandwich islands from Tonga.

There were several Englishmen (or Americans) at the island of Pau, but none of them wished to come away in the Favourite, except one; but as Captain Fisk had already more hands on board than he wanted, and as this man was not thrown accidentally (by shipwreck or otherwise) among these people, but had left his ship voluntarily, the captain did not choose to take him. It is much to be regretted that most of these men were, from all report, but indifferent characters, and had left their respective ships from no good motive: they had frequent quarrels among themselves, in which two or three had got murdered. Mr. Mariner's information upon this point is from Fiji natives who visited Tonga, and also, since he has been

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diately from the gods, as visitations for their crimes. 784

There is no public religious rite whatsoever, and scarcely any in private, but of which the ceremony of drinking cava forms a usual and often a most important part; for which reason, although cava is taken on other occasions several times daily, we shall endeavour to give a full description of its preparation and form of distribution, before we proceed to those ceremonies which are more strictly religious. 276 574 128

The root which they term *cáva*, and by which name the plant producing it is also called, belongs to a species of the pepper plant: it is known by the same name at the Fiji islands; but at the Navigator's islands, (which the Tonga people also visit), at the Society islands, and the Sandwich islands, it is universally called *ava*. At all these places it is used for the same or similar purposes. 276 [192] [197]

The state in which it is taken is that of infusion: it is drunk every day by chiefs, *mataboos*, and others, as a luxury: the form of preparing and serving it out is the same, whether at a large party or a small one: the greatest order is observed during the whole time, and the rank of persons is particularly attended to. The following description we shall suppose to be of some grand occasion, either religious or 276 574 [565]

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loto,—“io, co tow fonongo gi he low-
noa he tamachi coehá?”

Mo manatoo ca lea atoo leva au,
co he fucca-ongo atoo ia he loto a
Toi Oomoo, mo Ooloovaloo mo Afoo,
mo Fotoo, mo Alo, bea mo fooli-be
he cow-Ho-egi mo he mataboole he
Vavaone (28).

Mo fonongo my! cow fucca-ma-
natoo-atoo giute gimótóloo; capów
gooa ai nihu gooa fonnooa gelie, he
gooa ai nihu gooa tai-lata ger nofo
fucca-belene (9) co lolotonga-be
coeni teoo atoo giute gimótóloo ger
aloo, ca, hili leva coeni,iky' chi te
tow felówági mo Hapai;

Fili-fili leva he mo nofoanga co
Fiji e, co Hamoa e, co Tonga e, co
Hapai e, co Fotoona mo Lotooma e.

Ilonga-be mea gooa loto-fucca-taha
ger manaco he nofo he lillé tai-toogoo,
—ginówtóloo-be te now nofo gi
Hafooloo How.

Iky'-chi teoo belie ger lolomi he
toa he taha loto-tow.

Vacky'-ange! he fonnooa co Tonga
bea mo Fiji gooa nofo tow be, mo
fili-fili he mo manaco ger aloo gi he
taha, ger fy ai he mo toa.

Mo too! taggi-taha-be aloo gi enne
abi, bea mo manatoo gi he aloo he
vaca-he bongi-bougi gi Hapai.

(do) we listen to the silly talk (of) a
boy wherefore? 537

Recollect ye, whilst speak to you
therefore I, it is the echoing of the
mind of Toi Oomoo, and Ooloovaloo
and Afoo, and Fotoo and Alo, also
and all the chiefs and the matabooles
(of) Vavaone. 634 539

Listen ye to me! I remind ye,
(that) if there any-one is (of) another
land, and there any-one is discon-
tented (with) remaining in this way,
this is the only opportunity I will
give to you to depart; for, let-pass
accordingly this (occasion), not little
(i. e. not at all) shall we communi-
cate with Hapai;

Choose then your dwelling-places;
is Fiji there, is Hamoa there, is
Tonga there, is Hapai there, is
Fotoona and Lotooma there.

In particular those having minds
unanimous, that they love remaining
(in) the peace unceasing, they only,
shall they remain at Hafooloo How.

Not at all will I suppress the
bravery (of) one warlike mind.

Behold! the land of Tonga and of
Fiji are remaining (at) war: choose
ye your wish to go to the one, to
perform there your bravery.

Arise! each one go to his home
also and reflect upon the departure
(of) the canoes to-morrow to Hapai.

These, it is presumed, will be found sufficient to give the reader a just idea
of the nature and genius of the Tonga language; and will sufficiently enable
him to compare it with others, to which it may be supposed to have some
affinity; as the Malay, for instance, or hereafter, perhaps, with those of the
Fiji, the Sandwich, and the Society islands; of each of which places we
ought, in a few years, to have some better account than we have hitherto
had; for there are English and American people who have been resident at
those several clusters of islands for a number of years; and, of course, ought
to be perfectly acquainted with the customs, and tolerably well versed in
their language. There is no doubt but that the farther inquiry is carried
into the history of the South Seas, the more clearly it will appear that a very
strong relationship exists between the natives of the different islands, not-
withstanding the distance of their geographical situations. Affinities be- 114

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tween their several languages have been already shewn by Cook and other navigators, but under a very disadvantageous circumstance, the want of a free communication of ideas; in consequence of which, many wrong words have been given; thus, *lille* is the Tonga word for *good*, but Cook gives *my fogge* (my *foki*), which means, *give it me if you please*: for a bead he gives, *atahoo*, which should be *cahoo*: he gives *kaooma* (co-ooma) for the burnt circular marks in the skin; but this word means *why? for what?* whilst the proper word for those marks is *lefa*. For to sneeze, he gives *efango* (*fufango*), signifying, to *blow* the nose; the word for sneezing being *mafatoa*: for the head, *ooloo pokko* (*oolooboko*), which means the skull: for the number 100,000, he gives *laoo noa* (*low-noa*), which literally means nonsense, or foolish discourse! From at least fifty to a hundred other instances of this, out of the same vocabulary, might be quoted; and the same with Labillardiere's Vocabulary, of which indeed we have already noticed a few remarkable instances.

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With respect to the Malayan language, Mr. Mariner has, with great diligence and attention, looked over the whole of the English part of Marsden's Malayan Dictionary, and has selected the following list of above sixty words, which bear a considerable resemblance to the corresponding Tonga words. It is here very worthy of remark, that those Tonga words which contain the sound of the letter *f* have in its place the letter *p* or *b* in the Malayan: and the above author notices in his preface to the same excellent work, that the Malays not having the sound *f* in their own language, generally substitute *p* for it in those adopted Arabic words where it occurs*.

TONGA.	MALAYAN.	ENGLISH.
ica	ikan	fish
nima	lima	five

* The transition from the *f* to the *p* is perhaps more natural than may at first sight appear. Some nations confound the *f* with the *v*; others the *v* with the *b*, and others again the *b* with the *p*. The Germans make little or no distinction between the sounds of *f* and *v*; the Spaniards have an intermediate sound of *v* and *b*, and the Tonga people of *b* and *p*. The word for land or country is sounded by the Tonga people *fomnoa*; the word for the same idea among some of the Fiji people is *bonnoa*, whilst others of the same nation pronounce the first letter like the Spanish sound between *v* and *b*, and others again distinctly call it *bonnoa*, from which the transition to *pomnoa* would evidently be very easy. In searching for analogies between the languages of the South Pacific Ocean, as they regard each other, and as they may have a relation to those of the Asiatic nations, it seems necessary to pay particular attention not only to the mutations of sound above noticed, but also to those between the *l* and *r*, the *h* and *s*, the hard *g*, *k*, and *t*, and probably some others: without such attention the eye and ear may be easily deceived, and
[122] overlook some very strong coincidences. My authority for the Fiji pronunciation above given, is Jeremiah Higgins, who was at those islands thirteen weeks.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818

OU9 Tonga OU9

THE TONGA LANGUAGE.

TONGA.	MALAYAN.	ENGLISH.
lango	langau	a fly, (the insect)
lae	dahi	forehead
foa	buah	fruit
matangi	angin	wind
matta kilila	wata bilas	goggle-eyed
fooloo	bulu	hair of the body; down
fooloo fooloo	ber bulu	hairy
ooloo	ula	the head
toonga	tangga	ladder
ate	ati	liver
gootoo	kutu	louse
hoohoo	susu	milk; also the breast
mala	mara	misfortune
paloo	palu	to mix
namoo	niamok	mosquito
matta he hoohoo	mata susu	the nipple of the breast
mootoa	tuah	old
tee	tai	ordure
fili	pilih	to choose
oofi	ubi	yams
tooboo	tumbuh	to spring or grow up, as plants
fooloo-fooloo	ber bulu	shaggy, hairy
ma	mala	shame-faced
kille	lari	to run
mootoa	tuah	aged, ancient
efoo	abu	ashes
toola	sulah	bald
aloo!	ka-luar	begone!
matta	mata	the blade of a knife, or edge of any thing
guighila	niala	to blame
matta gnila	mata nila	blear-eyed
ila	chela	a mole in the skin
acow-fanna	panah	a bow
low-papa	papan	a board
ooa	dua	two
mamma	mamah	to chew
fili	pilih	to choose, to select
funnooa	berua	land or country
tangi	tangis	to weep, to shed tears
mate	mati	dead
wooli	tali	deaf
gele	gali	to dig
matta	mata	the eye
mooi	muda	young
is	api	fire

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A GRAMMAR OF THE TONGA LANGUAGE.

TONGA.	MALAYAN.	ENGLISH.
197 104 langi	langit	the sky
towfa	tufan	a gale of wind
telinga	telinga	the ear: the handle of a vessel
ia	iya	he, she, it
mafanna	panas	hot, (glowing)
acow	kayu	timber, wood
ongofooloo	sa-puluh	ten
oofooloo	dua-puluh	twenty
tow	tawu	year, season

The following are nearly alike in sound, but have some little shade of difference in their meaning.

TONGA.	MALAYAN.
Toonoo; to roast.	Tanu; to burn.
Low papa; a board.	Loh papan; a copy-book or table.
Fooloo he matta; the eye-brow.	Bulu mata; eye-lashes.
Acoo; the poss. pron. mine.	Aku; I.
Mamata; to inspect, to view.	Mata-mata; an inspector.
Tacabe; poor, friendless.	Ter-chabe; ragged.
Boto; wise.	Budi; wisdom.
Cata; to laugh.	Kata; to speak.
Boto-boto; round.	Bontar; around.

104 With regard to the following Vocabulary of the Tonga language, the reader is requested to observe, that there is at the end of the second part a list of those words which have been discovered to be omitted in the body of it; and that the greater part of those English words which he does not find, and whose synonyms neither are to be found, may be presumed to be such as there is no Tonga for, and which necessarily constitute a very numerous class.

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539 7. The good will of her husband's sisters is of importance to a woman: for
779 example, one of the causes assigned for difficult labor is the ill will of the husband's
775 sisters.

775 8. The literal translation of *taahine* is girl, maiden. This is a respectful term,
used of chiefly women, irrespective of marriage or age. In the same way *tama*, *tamasii*
[607] (lad, boy) is applied to men who are chiefs.

845 9. This line is difficult. It is perhaps a proper name applied to the sleeping wife.
[192] Utukaunaga is evidently a place name and translated it indicates the place where the
man lies, and where his body, anointed with sweet oil, has been so foully used.

10. The expression *ia te'e tama*, was thus written by the writer, who took the
[126] story down. *Te'e* in this position is unknown to me; possibly it is *te*, the rare article.
[192] It is provisionally translated "my."

11. Onemalama is the compound or area within which the compound of Lolo-
matokelau was situated. Haatafu, a wider name, is the village or area embracing
539 Onemalama and other places. This is a very common feature of present-day nomen-
779 clature but possibly it was not so common earlier. This story does not appear to be
775 recent and it is possible "in Haatafu" is added by the modern narrator to assist identi-
361 fication. It is said that the gathering of Tongans into comparatively large villages is
a recent innovation, originating perhaps in war, and encouraged by the needs of present-
day education and religion.

178 Pages 23-25. Sinilau and Hina, daughter of Puko

539 1. The expression "branching ivory" (*lei-mangamanga*) seems to be quite un-
779 known to present-day Tongans, but probably indicates the female pudenda. "*Lei man-*
[192] *gamanga* is probably connected with the *rei* of Atu" (13, no. 3). Best (3) writes
of "the curious stone artifact of Atiu fashioned to resemble and represent the female
organ."

Pages 25-26. Hina, Sinilau, and the jealous demon wife

[849] 1. The idiom for a pregnant woman's longing for a special food is rather striking.
She is said to be pregnant, or to have conceived, to the food. In this instance: Hina
oku tuituia ki he atu.

2. *Ko Vaihi e*, literally, "That is Hawaii" (17, No. 358).

3. Fatailangalanga, climbing fatai (*Cassytha filiformis*?). *Fuhifamalama*, cluster
of gleaming hala.

539 4. Kapala is perhaps the island of Kambara, Fiji; but several places, not islands,
779 are also called Kapala (21).

[103] Pages 34-37. Hina and Nukuokakala

[197] 1. Doubtless the dialect of Niua Fooo, as spoken today, has been modified by the
language of the main part of Tonga.

[193] 2. The steep rocky shores of Niua Fooo afford little accommodation for boats.
The natives support themselves in swimming with a long, light pole under the arm.

3. Firing a gun, the modern narrator's version of what was presumably the beating
the drum.

[192] 4. *Mali*, that is, English "marry" (or French, *mari*), both used as noun, of either
husband or wife, and as a verb.

Pages 39-41. Kulakehahau and Tongamaulau

539 1. The heroine's name is spelled "Tonga-maulu'au," and "Tonga-mauluau." The
hero's name is spelled both "Kulakehahau" and "Kulakihahau."

2. The probable translation of *Keuiafanafana* is "Overcome by a whisper."

[192] 3. The respectful word for speech, *folofola*, is used properly enough by the
[195] maiden to her lover; *taataa*, an equally respectful term for blood seems less proper
when used by the girl of herself. No one, not even the greatest chief, uses respectful
terms of himself. Probably the exigencies of rhyme have forced the word upon the
narrator.

[192] 4. In my copy of text, *kamosia* stands *kanosia*, a word which I do not know. I
conjecture that *kamosia*, meaning signed to, beckoned, persuaded, is correct.

5. This is either the name of the man's compound, or simply a common noun
meaning gathering place of companions.

6. The border or edge of anything is *kapa*, and I presume that *tau kapakapa* is the reduplicated form of that word, indicating the edge of the house. 539
7. The inference is that Tongamauluau is exerting malign influence over Kulakehahau, and it is probably implied that she is not truly human. The narrator just here refers to Anumatenifa as *tevolo*, but whether it is meant that she herself is not really human, or merely that she is behaving with inhuman malignity is not clear. [192]
8. I do not know the meaning of the expression, *he funga* &c, but conjecture that although Kulakehahau and Anumatenifa dwelt in the one house it was in a condition of separateness from each other.
9. By the expression "kin of my father," Kulakehahau indicates that Anumatenifa could not be his wife. [602]
10. The variant which follows mentions that Tongamauluau went with only bark cloth wrapped round her.
11. An additional wife, or wives, brought to a man by his wife are termed *fokonofa*. A woman apparently frequently brought her own younger sisters, or other relatives, as *fokonofa*. Perhaps Tongamauluau means that when Kulakehahau deserted her to live with another woman it was because of a new love, not a new wife that she herself had provided, but just an unreasonable whim. [595]
12. The pining of children for absent friends and relatives is called *manatu* (remember). This is regarded very seriously by the Tongans. [358] [323]

Pages 41-43. Tongamauluau and Kulakehahau, a variant

1. Aofitoki and Aouli are said to be the names of two kinds of cloud. [821]
2. The meaning of *aituo*, a rare word in present-day Tongan, is difficult to discover, but apparently it is the shout of jubilation as a chief leads away his bride. [192]
3. Cloth with unprinted edges cut off is called *lototogatu*; it is suitable for a chief's dress. [291]
4. The term *huluhulu-tuu* indicates "not put on in the usual way of the kilt (*vala*), but worn so as to cover the bosom." [241]

Pages 43-44. Tuiolemana and the crab

1. There is a mixture in these names of Tongan and Samoan forms. In Nuku-seilala, *nuku* is a Tongan form, and *seilala* Samoan; *tui-o-le-mana* may be wholly Samoan. [197]
2. The word *misimisi* is commonly used to mean suck, but Labillardière reports it as used in a context where it apparently means sexual intercourse. [192]

Pages 44-46. Kalikihevae and the son of the Tui Tonga

1. It is possible to read the Tongan as though the disease had just developed as they reached Hihifo. [857]
2. Tongan women frequently chew food to soften it for their children. [515]
3. The candlenut is a very popular detergent.
4. The inference is Nua had already borne a child, but so beautiful was she that this did not diminish her desirability.

Pages 46-49. Vaenuku and Lepuha

1. The word *muu* is translated (29) as *distributeur, qui parle pour le chef*; *Ko 'ene mu'a, c'est son*, second. I have found nowhere else any reference to the custom. 539
The second day of the three days assigned to marriage festivities is marked as the bride's bathing day. This bathing must be a special one, as no Tongan, unless in exceptional circumstances, omits the daily bath. Presumably the maiden's leaving her compound to go to the bathing pool was held to present an opportunity for an interview or, perhaps, for beholding the lady's charms. 585 515
2. Presumably the meaning is that the maiden and Vaenuku had met and she had accepted him as lover; that is, the bride is announcing to those concerned the successful suitor. 539

Pages 49-50. Fragments of a poem of Lepuha and Vaenuku

1. This name is also written Vainuku.
2. I am uncertain whether in the Tongan of this line the word is *si*, the plant

539 *Dracena* (possibly the leaf and streamer girdle, *sigi*), or whether it is *sii* (as written), the common, usually untranslatable, word of affection.

3. Fetoa and Toloke are evidently localities represented by the suitors.

[103] 4. The champion of Veifefe is Vaenuku, from Eua. Veifefe is the name of a tiny stream in Eua. The word is also written Veefefe.

Page 51. The transformation of Vaenuku's brother

[538] 1. This is the usual ceremonious and apologetic way of commencing speech; *uta* (shore) means the dwellers in the land; *han*, the comers to the festival at which the poem is recited.

Page 52. Auka and Talataiva

[538] 1. There is a well-known proverb, *Ko ho'o foui ne fai*, "Your *foui* did it," equivalent to "It is your own fault."

[302] 2. This needless betrayal of an illicit amour seems strange, but with it may be compared the painting of brides with turmeric during the marriage ceremony. I have heard, though without much confirmation, that husbands sometimes safeguarded the fidelity of their wives during their absence by painting their bellies with turmeric. [585] Obliteration of the design was evidence of unfaithfulness. Is there, behind all this, a blood ritual connected with sexual intercourse? [837]

[538] 3. There is a well-known proverb, *tuunaki Auka* (relying on Auka) which indicates misplaced confidence (17, no. 552).

[825] Page 58. How the vete was taken to Hihifo

[776] 1. Haitau is called also Mufutaaetau (8, p. 228).

[776] Page 59. Flea and nit go fishing

539 The *matakelekele* is said to be a very strange-looking fish. For Samoa, Krämer gives *matalelele* as *filoa* before it is fully grown (26, vol. 2, pp. 417, 419). There are indications that the *matakelekele* was once worshipped, a very intelligent informant saying that he heard a man say that sacrifices were taken to it.

[103] 2. Haapepe and Haatafu are names of localities in Tonga. The not infrequent occurrence in names of *pepe* (butterfly) suggests that there may have been once a butterfly clan. [551]

Pages 59-61. The club-footed children

539 1. In the course of the story three words used of supernatural beings are used of the demon: *nifoloo*, *fachikehe*, and *tevolo*. [192]

2. It would seem that the success of an incantation, or invocation, was achieved by preceding it by the word *tuputupu-le-fanna*. The form of the word is Samoan rather than Tongan, but it apparently is not known in Samoa, as it is not in Pratt's Dictionary. Tregear (34) defines *Tuputupuwhenua* as "a celebrated divine or semi-divine personage mentioned in Polynesian traditions. He is also called *Tumutumuwhenua*." Thus the incantation may have been originally an appeal to the being mentioned by Tregear. [782] [192]

3. The rock wall can hardly be an original feature in a Tongan story. This feature may be borrowed, or introduced lately, or the story itself may be a borrowed one into which some Tongan ideas are introduced. The mother's shame at the deformity of her children is characteristic. Tongans are more sensitive to physical blemishes than are Europeans. [177] [845] [732]

Page 61. Tafakula and the origin of the papaya

[773] 1. The sandalwood (*ahi*) of a ruddy brown color, is said to be especially associated [824] with this goddess (8, p. 237).

Page 61. The Samoan and the Tongan exchange gifts

[196] 1. The depreciatory effect of the reduplication of *nisi* (nut) can perhaps be best [115] rendered by the use of "near" in the sense in which it has become familiar as applied to beer. I heard this story told by Professor A. R. Brown, now of Sydney University.

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539 self unable to make the trip, as for example, through lack of a boat, it is
484 said of him that all the fish he will be able to get will be by thinking about
262 the island; he will have a purely imaginative treat. The expression is used
152 of unsatisfied desires generally, as of a man who wishes to marry a particular woman but can get no further in his courtship than going to visit her and seeing where she lives.

539 95. Koto kai a kui: All the eating of a blind man; the reckless
264 eating of a blind man.

183 Used of that which is done recklessly, ignorantly, like the blind man who cannot see to choose his food, but eats what his hand lights on.

96. Kuhu te elo pato te emo: Puffing at the stink smacking in licking, that is, to utter the wry-faced "pugh" characteristic of one offended by a bad smell, and at the same time to make the clicking or smacking noise of one who is licking up food.

Used of those who eat bad food in spite of its offensiveness.

[197] Linguistically this is very interesting. The word "te" is apparently
[192] the article found in Maori and many other Polynesian languages (Hawaiian, *ke*) although not found, at least as an ordinary article, in either Tongan or Samoan.

97. Longo moe fatu: Silent with the belly.

Applied to one who sits silent under rebuke, making no effort to exculpate himself, but whilst he is thus tacitly accepting the blame of what is charged against him, he is also enjoying its benefits. The original idea is that of one who has eaten to full satisfaction where he had no right to eat. When reprimanded he sits silent accepting the blame, but he sits silent with a full belly.

539 98. Pani puaka pani fonu: Smeared with pig, smeared with
262 turtle.

554 The pig and the turtle are favorite and valuable delicacies and will be found more in the abodes of the chiefs than anywhere else. For anyone to carry about on his person the smell of this rich fare is a sign that he is a person of some consequence.

539 99. Nifo tuu he vale: Teeth in a foolish man.

829 Good instruments thrown away on one who cannot use them. The wise man procures food for his teeth to chew, but the fool is unable to make this provision.

539 100. Pipiko moe nifo: Lazy with the teeth, lazy although there
461 are teeth.

Men have teeth with which to eat, and hands with which to work and to get that which will satisfy the teeth. This is used of a lazy man

Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans

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INTRODUCTION

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The Tonga Islands or Friendly Islands consist mainly of low coral islets, the largest, Tonga or Tongatabu, being about 25 miles long from east to west, and rather less than half that distance in width at its broadest part. The group is divided into three well-defined smaller groups: Tongatabu and Eua with a cluster of surrounding islets to the south, the widely scattered Haapai archipelago in the center and Vavau to the north. Far to the northward of Vavau are the outlying islands of Niua Fooni and Niua Tobutabu (Keppel's). 101
[133]

The majority of the islands in the Tongan group are low-lying and level, but notable exceptions occur. The surface of the island of Eua which rises in two great tiers to upwards of 1000 feet is marked by splendid rolling uplands and rugged cliffs. The imposing cone of Kao, the highest mountain in the Tonga Islands with an altitude of more than 3000 feet, and its longer and lower, but still lofty, neighbor, Tofua, form the western sentinels of the Haapai group. Farther north is the cone of Late. Vavau with its surrounding islands is hilly and picturesquely wooded. Niua Fooni is also high and volcanic; Niua Tobutabu, and the neighboring peak of Tafahi, are each about 2000 feet high. 133

This widely scattered group is inhabited by a homogenous people speaking one language. It is asserted that formerly there were notable peculiarities in the speech of Eua and Niua Fooni, and at the present day words not found in the remainder of the group are in use in Niua Fooni. These differences, however, are not very considerable. 117
[10]

The suggestion that a collection of popular sayings should be made came first from the late Rev. Dr. George Brown, the

151 [p. 39]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
 OU9 Tonga OU9
 Vavau
 Pangai

PANGAI: A VILLAGE IN TONGA 141

of the Tongan class-system how the conversion of influential chiefs to Christianity would result in the conversion by order or imitation of commoner-followers of the chiefs. And as soon as trader followed missionary to show how, by the production of copra, money could be obtained wherewith to buy the new clothing-materials, then this particularly close relation between religion and clothing would be established. This kind of explanation would not hold however, for an understanding of stability of native custom as regards medicine or birth- or death-procedures. One can only make a negative statement here and this to the effect that the three aspects of Tongan culture just mentioned do not result in behaviour that might conflict with the teachings of a Christian morality. Hence there has been no organized pressure to bring about a change of belief or behaviour. 177 178

The situation is somewhat different in the case of language. In general, it seems to be the rule that when there is close and long-continued contact between two cultures there is a tendency for the language of the culture which is represented by a clear majority of carriers to become the language of communication between the two cultures and ultimately the language of the new culture that results from the culture contact situation. Hawaii and New Zealand may be compared with Tonga and Samoa. Hawaiian and Maori are of course still spoken languages, but they are giving way before the spread of English, the language of the culture of the majority. In Tonga and Samoa, Europeans still represent only a very minor fraction of the total population, and the native language still constitutes the functioning language of the present-day native culture. 177 178 179

In the study at this time of situations that result from the contact of cultures, it is simple for the social scientist to raise many more questions and problems than can possibly be answered with the empirical data now available. To collect these data we have need of both a contemporary and an historical study of any particular native society which has been influenced by processes of cultural transference. Ultimately it seems likely that the key to the understanding of what these processes mean and how they come about will lie in the cross-fertilization of social data by the results of modern psychological research. 177 121

38 THE SHIP OF STATE AND HER CREW.

administered to my colleague on this head, for any papers⁶⁴⁵
left in a Tongan's house are certain to be read by his re-^[52]
tainers, who will straightway bruft their contents at every
kava-ring in the town, supplying the gaps with imaginative but sensational details. Tungi was sitting in the middle of the floor, and rose to greet me with his usual courtly grace. He seated me on a box, and went to wake his son, who was sleeping off his headache in the mosquito-net. Tukuaho presently emerged looking very unwell, but delighted to see me. He has the same massive head and features as his father; and though only thirty-two, he already shows signs of attaining the ample proportions that no Tongan chief seems to escape. His face is pleasant, though the eyes are set at a peculiar Mongolian angle, very far apart, and the eyelids habitually droop over them. His manners err if anything on the side of^[576]
showing too great a desire to please, but his conversation in his own language is very intelligent. I had hoped that^[191]
he and some of my other colleagues could speak English, but I now found that their English was "pidgin," and quite unsuited for conducting diplomatic negotiations with exactitude. It was a serious disappointment, for my knowledge of Tongan was slender, and my experience in Fiji and elsewhere had taught me never to trust to an interpreter in dealing with natives. I had before me the^[197]
necessity of mastering the language sufficiently to speak in public before I could really begin my work, but fortunately my knowledge of Fijian stood me in good stead; for though the two languages differ more than French differs from English, yet the idiom and metaphor is much alike, as one might expect among races who live under

THE DANGERS OF CABINET MEETINGS.

39

similar conditions and have occasional intercourse with one another. Henceforward I devoted all my spare moments to the study of the language, particularly that form of it in use towards the chiefs, which may be called the language of respect: the mastery of such *nuances* gives the appearance of far greater facility than I was likely to acquire in the limited time at my disposal. Before I left Tonga the necessity for using the language in public, and for drafting the new code of law, had given me considerable fluency; and I was able to realise the vast superiority and richness of Polynesian as compared with Melanesian languages.

My two colleagues were in a state of the deepest dejection. They were inclined to be reticent, and told me that they could make no changes without consulting the king. I said that one change at least did not require the sanction of his Majesty—namely, that the members of the Cabinet should meet together periodically to agree upon a common policy, and that none of them should take any important action without consulting his colleagues. This, I explained, was the rule of action in every Cabinet in the world, and it was, moreover, provided for in the Tongan Constitution. They seemed much disturbed at this announcement, and Tukuaho replied that it was a new thing in Tonga, and that his colleagues would not understand it, but would say that he was arrogating to himself the powers of the king. He said that already the Habavea chiefs, Maafu and Lavaka, actuated by jealousy, were stirring up the people against him though he had as yet done nothing, and had said bitter things in public about being subject to his family: that Tungi,

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA.

I.

THE BORDERLAND OF MYTH.

SEEING that the past is the key to the present, I was at 121
some pains to learn the history of Tonga. This tiny [161]
kingdom of 20,000 people, inhabiting widely scattered [197]
islands, but speaking the same language, intermarrying,
and obeying the same Government, boasted so compli-
cated a social polity that its history, as an illustration
of the growth of human institutions, is worthy of study
for its own sake.

Until the introduction of Christianity swept away the 175
old beliefs and the institutions that depended on them, 643
there were in Tonga a spiritual and a temporal king. The
former—the Tui Tonga—was lord of the soil, and enjoyed
divine honours in virtue of his immortal origin; but he
had an ever-diminishing share in the government, and he
could take no part in any civil quarrel. His sole duty

[p. 291]

174 of later date. The Mani stories may indicate a later wave of immigration. If the Vavau of myth could be identified, at least as far as the Tongan islands are concerned, with the present Vavau in the north of the group, it may be the stopping-place of a wave of Polynesian settlers who found the southern parts of the group already occupied by earlier Polynesian immigrants, or by non-Polynesian people. It is evident that free communication with Fiji is of old date. Various relationships with Fiji are manifest. The language shows layers or words which have come by way of Fiji, of which some have undergone the orthodox morphological modification, and some have not. Possibly the whole question will never be capable of other than conjectural solution. In concluding this very important note on Tongan religion I desire to express my obligations to Tangi, the Tui Haa-takalana and Consort of Queen of Tonga, to Tuivakano, the Premier, to the chiefs Ata, Ahomee, and Tamale, to the Revs. J. Havea, J. Taufa, H. Talia, and E. Tubon, all of the Methodist Mission, to Buleti, Havili, Fatai and many others who have gladly given such information as they were able about matters of which the recollection is fast fading. I have constantly used also the valuable, but all too small, collection of material in the late Dr. Moulton's Magazine, of which a large part was written by the late David Tonga. I desire also to express my obligations to the Rev. R. O. G. Pape, Chairman of the Methodist Mission, and to Mr. E. W. Gifford, of the University of California, who visited Tonga under the auspices of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, from August 1920, to May, 1921.

Euro-American Acculturation in Tonga.

289

American town. The police, perhaps, have a busier time restraining playful young Tonga in the front rows.

Typewriters are coming into use. The writer encountered one enterprising Tongan who took dictation in Tongan direct on his typewriter. The same man was a good photographer.

Writing, introduced by the missionaries, has done much to preserve Tongan mythology and genealogy. As early as 1844 the Tamaha, the highest and most sacred Tongan dignitary, the sororal niece of the Tui Tonga, set down in writing some of the ancient lore. Many others have followed her example. If writing and reading have been the means of preserving much old Tongan material, so too, have they been the introducers of many foreign ideas. To-day one can collect Tongan versions of Cinderella and Dick Whittington's cat. Moreover, many a Tongan's clear conception of the affairs of his nation in the first decade and a half of the 19th century is due to his reading Mariner's "Tongan Islands" translated into Tongan.

Although no accurate data are at hand, it is nevertheless the writer's impression that the great majority of Tongans are literate. Tongan orthography has offered a peg upon which to hang a controversy with a religious background. The Catholics use the symbol "p" to represent the sound in Tongan which is really intermediate between "b" and "p." It is a sound quite similar to French "p." Inasmuch as the early Catholic missionaries were French, they naturally represented the intermediate Tongan sound with "p." The Protestants, however, used both "b" and "p" or again "b" alone. The latter course is preferable, because after all but a single sound is being dealt with. Being intermediate this sound sometimes strikes an English ear as "b," sometimes as "p." As a result of this rivalry of "b" and "p," an actual phonetic difference has arisen through the teaching of the mission schools. A single sound has now evolved into two sounds. Which is used depends upon the church affiliations of the speaker. A somewhat similar case is to be found in "s" and "j," the former now having almost completely replaced the latter in everyday conversation. Although "s" is sponsored by the Catholics it has come into general use and the "j" of the Protestants is fast sinking into oblivion.

SUPPLEMENTARY TONGAN VOCABULARY.

BY E. E. V. COLLOCOTT.

114 [The publication of vocabularies has been viewed as one of the
 192 most useful activities of the Polynesian Society, hence we welcome the
 197 following contribution from Mr. Collocott. Those acquainted with the
 Maori dialect of the far-spread Polynesian language will recognise
 many words in the following list, albeit concealed to some extent by
 certain letter changes. Some of the words included are of special
 interest, such as the following:—

Ala-folau, canoe house; *Fukafolau*, migratory birds. Here we have
 the Polynesian word *folau* "to travel," "to voyage," from which
 come the Maori *wharau*, a canoe shed, a rude hut erected by
 travellers, as also *wharau-roa*, the cuckoo, the far-travelled or
 migratory bird. *Farau* and *halau* denote a canoe shed in the
 Tahitian and Hawaiian dialects. Tahitian *tafarau* and Maori
tauharau mean to shelter a canoe by placing it in a shed.

Baniolo is probably the equivalent of Maori *Paniora*=Spaniard.

Buonoono, nose flute. Here *bu* is probably the Maori *pu*, as in *pu kaea*,
pu torino, etc., well known wind instruments. *Fagufagu* would
 probably be *whangowhango* in Maori.

Fai, to pluck, recalls Maori *whaki*, as in Maori *whawhaki*, to pluck off.

Matutuna, top of cocoanut. Possibly an allusion to the well known
 myth concerning the origin of the cocoanut and *Tuna*, the eel.

Hila, lightning, is *uira* in Maori, *uila* in Samoan, while *uhila* is a
 Tongan form. The Maori has also, apparently, preserved the
 form *hira*, to flash, as in "Hira mai te whekite o te rangi," a
 phrase met with in certain old formulæ.

Hina, the moon, is far-spread as *Hina* and *Sina*, the female personi-
 fied form of the moon.

Lei mangamanga is probably connected with the *rei* of Atiu, described
 by Colonel Gudgeon at p. 210 of Vol XIII. of this Journal.

Mauli, alive, is another far-spread term in its various forms, *mauri*,
tamauri, *mouri*, *moni* and *maui*. Life, living, life principle are
 meanings attached to it.

Matofi, a phase of the moon, compares with Maori *Rakau-matohi*.

Tolo is marked doubtful, but *tolo* and *toro*, to generate is a far-spread
 word, and appears in Tiki-toro, Tiki the Generator. In con-
 nection with plant life the term *tinaku* was employed, hence the
 name of the "mother" of the *kumara*, *Pani-tinaku*.

Tubua. The meanings of "sacred, wonderful, ancient," assigned to
 this highly interesting term throw more light on some puzzling
 uses of the word in ancient compositions. The general meaning
 in our local Maori dialect is "supernormal, uncanny."

Under Counting we find that *kauika* denotes 20 in counting fish,
 and here we have the old Polynesian term *kau*, an assembly, a multi-
 tude, etc., *te kau* being an old term employed to denote 20.—Editors.]

104 a sound which it is sometimes difficult to distinguish as voiced
 114 or unvoiced. The practical difficulty of deciding whether it
 104 was to be *b* or *p* remained unsolved in the few meetings that
 were held. I have written *b*, not as an expression of my
 opinion that it is the better symbol to employ, but because
 it is used in by far the most important part of existing
 Tongan literature. As a matter of personal preference I
 have come to think that if a fresh start could be made *p*
 would be the better symbol.

104 The English Methodists wrote *j*, and the French Catho-
 114 lics *s* to indicate a sound which Mariner writes *ch*. This
 194 sound is always followed by *i*, and corresponds to the
 197 Samoan *ti*; but the pronunciation *ch*, which I have heard
 from an elderly Tongan, has practically disappeared, and in
 present-day Tongan the sound is hardly, if at all, distin-
 guishable from English *s*. There are also words in which
s is not followed by *i*, some of which may be genuine Ton-
 gan words, whilst others may have come later into the lan-
 guage, probably from Samoa and Fiji. I have in this list
 provisionally written *s* throughout, although the 1918 com-
 104 mittee decided to use *j* before *i*, and there was even, if I
 114 remember rightly, a proposal to try to revive the old pro-
 nunciation *ch*. Such an attempt to arrest the progress of
 194 phonetic change would probably prove abortive. Should the
 197 dictionary-maker decide to employ *j* to represent the old
 pronunciation *ch* examination of Samoan cognates will
 generally settle the question of *s* or *j*. All occurrences of *s*
 not followed by *i* will be examined bearing in mind the pos-
 sibility of their having come late, or very late, into the lan-
 guage, though it must be noted that Mariner uses *s* in a
 few words; but this, of course, does not rule out the possi-
 bility of borrowing.

104 The stop ('), which is too often neglected in writing
 Tongan, I have endeavoured to put in. One feels, however,
 128 the disadvantage of absence from the country in dealing
 with a matter which requires such delicate discrimination,
 and quite probably I have committed errors both of omission
 and inclusion. Indeed, the whole paper abounds with indica-
 tions of my ignorance, and other workers will, doubtless,
 find many inadequacies.

To the list of words I have added a note on measuring
 and counting, which, although not wide enough to include

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128 all the specific words used in counting and measuring various classes of objects, will, I hope, illustrate the principles sufficiently clearly.

[114] A few proverbial expressions also are added. My friend the Rev. John Havea and myself collaborated in a collection of proverbs which was published by the Bishop Museum (*Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans*, Honolulu, 1922), and the proverbs appended here are some that have come to hand since the publication of that paper. As in the larger collection I have translated each Tongan phrase literally, and added some explanation of its use. My obligations to 114 Tongan friends are innumerable, especially to the Revs. John Havea and John Kuli, Miss Alice Ahio, Hon. William Tungi, and to several of the youths who were my pupils at 127 the Tubou College, Nafualu. A number of published works have been consulted, but especial use has been made of 113 Edward Tregear's *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary* (Wellington, 1891). Hazelwood's *A Fijian and English and an English and Fijian Dictionary* (Waterlow and Sons, Ltd., London, 1914), Pratt's *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language* (Samoa, 1911), the Marist Mission's *Dictionnaire Toga-Français et Français-Toga-Anglais* (Paris, 1890), and the Rev. Shirley W. Baker's *An English and Tongan Vocabulary, also a Tongan and English Vocabulary* (Auckland, 1897). There are a few references in the vocabulary to a paper on *Tongan Astronomy and Calendar* 114 (Bishop Museum Press, Hawaii, 1922). A visit to Niua Fo'ou in 1922 gave me a few words of the dialect of that 197 island, which differs somewhat from that spoken in the main portion of the Tongan Group. These have been 128 included in the present vocabulary. Some brief notes on this dialect appeared in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 113 Vol. XXXI., No. 4.

643 of steps. This was called a *langi*, or 'heaven'; and
195 many of them remain in tolerable preservation, and
764 excite the wonder of the visitor by the huge size of
many of the stones, some of which measure over
20 ft. in length.

173 Many, probably most, of the names of the Tu'i
643 Tonga have been preserved, and their history
curiously reminds us of the story of the Carolingians
and Merovingians in France. One of the
Tu'i Tonga, called Takalaua, was murdered, and
his son and successor Kau'ulufonuafekei, from
weariness or fear, devolved the duties of govern-
ment on his younger brother, reserving to him-
self the honours and emoluments of the office.
His brother assumed the title of Tu'i Ha'a
Takalaua ('King of the Takalauans'), and soon
got all the power into his hands, the Tu'i Tonga
becoming a *roi fainéant*. After a few generations,
however, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua became effete,
and the government was handed over to another
branch, called the Tu'i Kanokubolu ('King of
Kanokubolu,' the town in which he lived). This
is the title of the present dynasty. Representa-
tives of the other two lines, however, still exist,
but the titles are not used. The representative,
however, of the Tu'i Tonga holds even now a
quasi-sacred position, and is still addressed as the
gods used to be; and words sacred to deity are
used for all his movements.

114 Mariner mentions another semi-divine person called the Veachi
(vol. II, p. 80). This part of his narrative is very perplexing,
as neither Veeson nor Thomas nor any of the modern chiefs
knows anything about him.

192 The word used all over Polynesia for 'religion,'
'worship,' 'prayer,' etc., is *lotu*. Fortunately
this has a meaning in Tongan, and signifies 'a
seeking for something that is hard to find.' Thus
when famine prevails, the people *lotu kuni*, i.e. go
all over the land looking for food. It is also used
for the restlessness of a caged animal seeking an
outlet, and for the cry of an animal for its mate or
companions. This is not the only word common
to Polynesia which finds its meaning in Tongan.
197 *Tabu* (or *taboo*), now of world-wide use, signifies in
Tongan that something which might be opened is
closed. These and other considerations lead one
to think that the Tongan language comes nearer
than most of the dialects to the original Polynesian
tongue.

782 3. The religious rites of the Tongans were few.
There was nothing in their religion corresponding
to our idea of worship. If they wanted something
—rain, fair winds, good crops, successful fishery—
or if they wished to prevent some calamity—such
as sickness, death, hurricanes, war—they would
seek the favour of a god, would offer sacrifice and
pray. But to come into his temple, to worship, to
sing his praises, to dwell upon his attributes—this
was a foreign idea altogether. Hence there was
very little in the Tongan religion to cultivate the
conscience, or to control the passions, or to elevate
the thoughts. Mariner thinks otherwise, and we
would gladly believe his favourable report of the
Tongan character. But all our information—and
much of it goes back to Mariner's time—contradicts
his statements. He even contradicts himself. The
Feanow he speaks so highly of was a monster of
iniquity; and there is no doubt that for centuries
theft, murder, lust, treachery, and almost every-
thing in the catalogue of evil, have been rife in
Tonga. No man's life or property, and no woman's
honour, was safe for a day.

782 They never went to their gods empty-handed; a
[793] piece of kava root for making the native drink was
a *sine qua non*. Baskets of food, too, were usually
brought in addition, and presented to the god or
his priest. One of the party would then state the
object of their visit, and implore the deity to grant
their request, or use his influence with the gods of

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Resolution AND Discovery

[July

128 the other.¹ To have swell'd the Journal with a minute accou[n]t of bearings tacking &c^a would neither have been entertaining nor usefull.

121 What has been here Omitted concerning the Geography of these islands will be found in the Narrative of my last Voyage; to that Narrative I must also refer for several particulars concerning the In-
114 habitants, their Manners and arts, as I shall now confine my self to such things as are intresting and not mentioned in that Narrative and such as may tend to explain some passages in the account of our transactions with them.

124 It may indeed be expected that after spending between two and three Months among these islands, I should be enable[d] to give a good account of the customs, opinions and arts of the inhabitants, especially as we had a person on board who understood thier language and he ours.² But unless the object or thing we wanted to enquire after was before us, we found it difficult to gain a tolerable knowledge of it from information only without falling into a hundred mistakes; in this Omai was more liable than us because he never gave himself the trouble to gain knowledge for himself, so that when he was disposed to explain things to us his account was often very confused. It was also very rare we found a person both able and willing to giving us the information we wanted, for the most of them hate to be troubled with what they probably think idle questions.

129 Our situation at *Tongatabu* where we remained the longest, was likewise unfavourable; it was in a part of the country where there were few inhabitants except fishers; it was always holyday with our visitors as well as with those we visited, so that we had but few oppertunities of seeing into their domistick way of living.

144 *Persons Manners and Customs* As to the people they differ very little from those of Otaheite either in their persons or desposition, if any thing these have the advantage in being better limbed and finer shaped, but than their complexion is much darker.³

142 The hair is of different colours that is black, dark brown and flaxen,
302

¹ By the 'annexed Chart' Cook must, I presume, mean the original from which was engraved Pl. XII of the printed *Voyage*, I, on which Bligh makes the comment (AL, p. 225), 'This is a Copy of my Chart, which was an entire Survey of my own except the South side of Amsterdam & the Isl^d Eooa which C. Cook laid down'. See, for a modern equivalent, Fig. 5 in the present volume.

[197] ² We get a note on the language from Burney, f. 203. 'The Tongitabu language is more distinct and easier to be learnt than the Otaheite. it is less composed of vowels and does not afford so many instances of words nearly alike conveying different meanings. the G and K are sounds not used by the Otaheiteans and which they are not able to pronounce. in many words the gradual change of language may be traced from the Society Islands to the westward; as in Boa (a Hog) at Otaheite, Boakko at Tongitabu and Wacka at Horn Island.'

³ Because of their position on the Polynesian-Melanesian borderline.
A [See category 102, p. 104--Analyst]

[1777]

WARFARE AND LANGUAGE

[955]

idiot, nor is his sister of a common disposition.¹ He is the very person who was seen in 1773 when Captⁿ Cook visited the island, and whose strange behaviour could not then be accounted for though it was evident his rank was great. 643
644
158

From the number of weapons found amongst them there is little doubt but they sometimes engage in war, though in all probability it is mostly of the defensive kind, as the greatest part of the islands they know have been conquerd by them and now form part of their dominion, so that the only enemys they have to contend with are those of Feejee which seems but seldom. This is the more probable as from the time of the islands being first discovered they have never appear'd arm'd when they came to visit strangers, and when they brought their weapons it was only to traffic with them—a circumstance seldom found amongst Indian nations perpetually at war, who always part with their arms rather reluctantly; yet when they are engag'd it is scarcely to be doubted but they are brave though their disposition seems to incline them at all times to peace, the arts of which they are more industrious to cultivate than those of war, and from the examples we have seen it may be judg'd they are dexterous enough at using their weapons. Their good sense however informs them that they are unable to cope with those whose art has furnish'd them with superior arms, which seems to be the case with respect to us without having ever put it to the test, for we must not ascribe their fear of us at any time to a pusillanimity or cowardice which we have no reason to charge them with. On the contrary they seem not insensible that without our arms and with equal numbers they would over match us, but the dread annex'd to the idea of the effect of fire arms or indeed other missile weapons staggers them; for they are in no less fear of the inhabitants of Feejee, who they say fight them with bows and arrows. 721
648

Their Language has the greatest affinity imaginable to that of New Zealand, of Watecoo, and Mang'ya and consequently to that of O'Taheite and its neighbouring isles. There are also many words the same as in the vocabulary of Cocos island at the end of Dalrymples collection of voyages. The mode of pronounciation differs indeed considerably in many cases from that of the first place, but a great number of words are exactly the same. It is sufficiently copious and we have had many proofs of its being easily adapted to all musical 197
[593]

¹ On the two preceding sentences see (to avoid too much repetition) Cook, p. 178, n. 6 above. It was quite wrong to say that the Tu'i Lakepa was 'a person of no rank in his own country'. The succession of the Tu'i Tongas was certainly in general from father to son. Anderson was right in guessing that rank was a separate thing from power; but wrong in thinking that in the context 'madness' might be relevant.

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197 purposes, both from their songs and recitative, besides being harmonious enough in common conversation. Its component parts as far
593 as we could understand are not numerous and in some cases agrees
199 with other known Languages, as among others we could easily discern the several degrees of comparison as us'd in the Latin Language, but none of the accidents of nouns or verbs. They seem to study
597 oratory in some measure, as all their public harangues were made with a distinctness and leisure which could not well be acquired without either study or very frequent practise. A Specimen of the
192 Language is here given to compare it with others that occur'd in the Voyage, but it should be observ'd that some of the most common words are some times corrupted either from their endeavouring to imitate us or our misunderstanding them. Thus the word Cheeto was universally usd by us to express a thief, though totally diferent from their word that signifys the same thing, because our people at first calling those Teeto as they had done at New Zealand (though there the word is absolutely the same as at Amsterdam) these imitated it as near as they could by cheeto which was adopted as a word of theirs.¹ Other instances might be produc'd but this is sufficient to put us on our guard against such abuses, and not ascribe words to them of which they are ignorant.

104

'Tangata	A man
Moggo'cheea	Cold
Kace	No
Ma'fanna	Warm
Ai	Yes
'Ky	To chew or eat
+ A'ny	Presently—by & by
'Wakka	A boat or ship
'Kôt	You
'Ou	I
Ta'heine	A young girl
Ve'faine	A woman
'Eegee	A chief
Koe'hacca	What is that
+ Ooma	To kiss
+ 'Neeoo	A cocoa nut
+ 'Maice	Bread fruit
Meedje meedje	To suck as a child. To suck water from a Cocoa nut

[197] ¹ Maori *tio* is to compose, invent impromptu, or simply a liar; hence possibly (it is a long shot) to give a hurried excuse for thieving. The word 'absolutely the same' that Anderson was thinking of was probably Maori *kais*, Tongan *kaiha'a*. Cf. Cook, p. 227, n. 3 above.

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THE TONGAN LANGUAGE

[1045

about the wrist which preserves the use of the Hand & keeps it free from the least Tumefaction. We observed the Scars of large Gashes that had been made lengthwise upon all of them, seemingly with the Intention of letting out the Contents of the Tumor, but without Effecting a Cure as it appeared from the State we saw them in. 164
[751]
[752]

The Language of these People is the same as that of Otaheite with some little difference; Omai conversed with them with ease & the two New Zealand Boys were pretty well understood by them. 197

The following Words present a short Specimen of their Language 192

A Man	Tangada	The Back	Tooha
Woman	Phapheenee	The Breast	Fadafada
Boy	Tamajee	A Woman's Breast	Hoo-hoo
Chief	Agee	The Belly	Kedee
common person	Tooa	The Navel	Peedo
a Dog	Gooree	Thigh	Denga
a Hog	Booaga	Knee	Doohee
a Cock	Moa	Leg	Foi-va-e
a Bird	Manoo	Ankle	Toongai-va-e
The Forehead	Lahe	Foot	Dooa-va-e
Eyes	Mada	Great toe	Motoo-ava-e
Eyelids	goomada	Hip	Difidolanga
Eye brows	fooroo-fooroo-mada	Chin	Koomoo-coomoo
The Head	Oooloo	Beard	Cava
The Hair	Lo-ooloo	Their Cloth	Ngadoo
The Nose	Ee-hoo	Our Cloth	Papalangee
Teeth	Neefo	Fine Matts	Ngafee ngafee
Nostril	Avaihoo	Coarse Matts	Efala
Check	Cowahai	a nail	Fa-o
Lips	Longootoo	a File	Geel-ee
Tongue	Alelo	a Knife	Helee
Gullet	Pougeea	a Hatchet	Togee
Ears	Telinga	a Canoe	Vaga
Neck	Keea	a Bow	Cawfana
Shoulder	Ooma	an Arrow	Ca-ho
Arm	Neema	a Quiver	Gofe
back of the Hand	Tooaneema	a Paddle	Fo-he
Palm of the Hand	Afineema	a fishing net	Coobenga
Forefinger	Toohoo	an wooden dish	Coomedee
Middle finger	Lodo	a Club }	Too-ee
Ring finger	Haia		Caw
Little finger	Loohee	Carved	dongee
Thumb	Modooaneema	Plain	dala
Elbow	Tooineema	a fish Hook	Ba

Rank in Tonga¹

Adrienne L. Kaeppler
Bernice P. Bishop Museum

The Tongan archipelago lies in the South Pacific approximately between 18° and 23° south latitude and 173° and 176° west longitude, southeast of Fiji and southwest of Samoa. The 269 square miles are divided among some 150 islands, many of which are uninhabited. The population in 1967 was more than 78,000. Tongans are Polynesians, but there is a definite admixture with Fijians, with whom, both traditionally and at the present time, there is much social intercourse. Many Tongan genealogies include one or more Fijians, and these people are more highly admired than Samoans, who are closer to Tongans in both physical type and culture. A well known example is the late Queen Sālote's half-brother, who is the son of her father, Tupou II, and a high-ranking Fijian woman. [131] [161] [144] [829] [643]

Tongans have their own language, derived from a proto-language which seems to have been one of the first groups to appear in the differentiation of the Polynesian language family. The Tongan language has its closest similarities with Uvean and Niuean, and somewhat lesser ones with Samoan and Fijian (Green 1966: 13). Highly developed in Tongan is a language of respect, in which words reflect societal ranking. Thus for the same meanings, when speaking to the king one uses different words from those used when speaking to chiefs, and still other words are used in speaking to commoners. Thus "go" is *hā'e* when referring to the King, *me'a* to chiefs, *'alu* to commoners, and *lele*, the ordinary word for "run," is used when speaking of oneself to persons of higher rank. Integrally related to the language of respect is speechmaking. Ceremonial attendants (*matāpule*) are the traditional speechmakers and are of necessity well versed in the language of respect. [197] [576] [195] [565] [537]

The most pervasive concept in Tongan culture is that of hierarchical ranking. All interpersonal relationships in the island kingdom are governed by principles of rank, and material culture and language reflect this ranking.² The purpose of this essay is to delineate how categories of people are ranked, the principles on which rank and status are based, and the relationships between the various kinds of ranking. The focus is ethnographic, and an attempt will be made to describe organizing principles important to the Tongans in ordering their social relationships. [554] [181] [121]

In order to understand rank within Tongan society, one must conceptually distinguish social status, governing relationships within a small kin group, from societal ranking, governing relationships within the society as a whole. Social status, which is based upon traceable consanguineal [554] [121] [612]

CHAPTER II

ENVIRONMENTAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF TONGAN DANCE

GEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY

131 The Tongan archipelago, last of the Polynesian Kingdoms, lies in the South Pacific approximately between 18° and 23° south latitude and 173° and 176° west longitude, southeast of Fiji and southwest of Samoa (see map, Figure 2.1). Tonga's 269 square miles are divided among some 150 islands, many of which are uninhabited.

133 Tonga is little known to the Western world except for the geological fame of several of its volcanic islands on the Westerly long axis of the group which are part of a volcanic chain running from New Zealand to Samoa through the Kermadec Islands. Volcanic activity still occurs both above and below the surface of the sea. About midway along this line of islands lie Kao and Tofua. Kao, an extinct crater reaching a height of 3,380 feet, is one of the few examples in the world of a perfect volcanic cone. Tofua, which is flatter and still occasionally erupts, is well known because it was off the coast of Tofua that the mutiny on the Bounty took place. Fomafu'ou (Falcon Island) is well known because, due to volcanic activity and erosion, it alternates being above and below the surface of the sea.

731
[823] To the Tongans the most important volcanic island is Niufo'ou. The disastrous eruption in 1946 is still vivid in their minds as it necessitated the evacuation of the people to Tongatapu and 'Eua.

197 Niufo'ouans are recognized as being 'different' because of their

[p. 12]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14]

197 'peculiar way of speaking.' The language of Niuafo'ou, although it is Tongan, has a dialect status which shows grammatical relationships with Samoan. Unfortunately for the world of anthropological linguistics this dialect has never been fully studied and it is in danger of dying out, for the younger generation speaks the main dialect of Tongan and only the remaining old people speak the Niuafo'ou dialect. The tau 535 faka-Niua 178 is a dance local to Niuafo'ou, and it too is in danger of being forgotten.

133 This chain of volcanic islands is relatively unimportant to Tonga 132 today, but it is these very islands that are important for an understanding of the ecology which supports the Tongan social system. The main inhabited islands of the Tongan group are coral islands, which in most Pacific areas would be associated with lack of fertile soil and [134] often a subsistence level economy. In Tonga, however, the flat coral islands have reaped the harvest of the close volcanic islands and the resulting deep, rich volcanic soil has made it possible to develop an economy of surplus to maintain Tonga's highly stratified social system.

[162] The population concentration is mainly on these low-lying islands to the east of the volcanic chain. The largest of this group of limestone 134 133 islands, Tongatapu, is less than 270 feet high, but in many places has 241 a soil depth of ten feet. The soil is excellent and a very large proportion of the islands are intensely cultivated. The main food plants are yam, taro, sweet potato, banana, sugar cane, manioc, [262] coconut, and breadfruit. In addition, fruit of the mango, orange,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 16]

161 taken at the end of 1966, are not yet published, but it was anticipated that the number would reach 70,000. The last published figures are from 1956 (Tupouniua 1958) at which time the total population was [162] 56,838. Of this number 55,156 declared themselves to be Tongan, 277 European, 604 part European, and 801 others (mostly other Pacific Islanders).

144 Tongans are Polynesians, but there is a definite admixture with Fijian, with whom both today and traditionally, there is much social intercourse. In many genealogies there are one or more Fijians, and they are more highly admired than Samoans who are much closer to 644 Tongans in physical type. The late Queen Salote's half-brother is 582 the son of her father, Tupou II, and a Fijian woman. The social 609 system of Tonga, based on a hierarchical ranking of persons, creates a category of people with no one of equal rank to marry. In the past this was often remedied by marriage with Fijians creating a societal division called Ha'a Fale-Fisi.

197 Tongans have their own language which seems to have been the first to split from the proto-Polynesian language family. The Tongan language has its closest similarities with Uvean and Niuean and 195 broader similarities with Samoan and Fijian. Highly developed in 565 Tongan is a language of respect in which words correspond to the three societal levels. Thus when speaking to the King different words are used than when speaking to chiefs, and still different words when speaking to commoners. Thus 'go' is hā'e for the King, me'a for

[443 cont.]

175 I believe we should have been entirely left to ourselves if we had
123 not engaged two of them to become our conductors. The discharge of
609 our guns, and their effect, neither excited their admiration nor
their fear; but they always appeared kind and courteous towards us.

175 Their women were, in general, [444] reserved, and turned with
609 disgust from the immodest behaviour of ungovernable seamen, some of
832 them however appeared to be of easy virtue, and beckoned to our
people with lascivious gestures."

175 The next morning early the captain went on shore with us,
124 and presented the chief with a variety of garden seeds, explaining
431 by signs how useful they would prove to him. This was as yet our
175 only mode of conversation, though we had picked up a number of words,
124 which, by the help of the principles of universal grammar, and the
197 idea of dialects, we easily perceived had a great affinity with the
language spoken at Taheitee and the Society Isles. O-Mai and
[114] Mahine (or O-Hedeedee,) the two natives of Raietia and Borabora
who embarked with us, at first declared that the language was totally
new and unintelligible to them; however, when we explained to them
the affinity of several words, they presently caught the peculiar
modification of this dialect, and conversed much better with the
natives than we could have done after a long intercourse with them.

175 They were extremely well pleased with this country, but soon perceived
433 its defects, and told us there was but scanty provision of bread-fruit,
[231] few hogs and fowls, and no dogs, which was really the case. In return,
[276] however, they liked the abundance of sugar-canes and of intoxicating
[609] pepper, of which the drink had been offered to captain Cook.

[459 cont.]

175 An
565 excellent print, executed by Mr. Sherwin, has been made from his drawing,
114 which expresses the countenance of this chief, and the mild character
[181] of the whole nation, better than any description. It is inserted in
[201] captain Cook's account of this voyage, and represents Attahha in the
[431] action of thanksgiving, laying a nail on his head, which he had
175 received as a present. After breakfast, the captains and my father
565 prepared to return to the shore with him; but just as he was going
152 out of the cabin, he happened to see a Taheitian dog running about the
231 deck; at this sight he could not conceal his joy, but clapped his hands
on his breast, and turning to the captain, repeated the word goorree (15)

[97]

15. Ooree signifies a dog at Taheitee; and ghooree at
New Zealand.

[43]

[460] near twenty times. We were much surprised to hear that he knew the
name of an animal which did not exist in his country, and made him a
present of one of each sex, with which he went on shore in an extasy of
175 joy. That the name of dogs should be familiar to a people, who are not
231 possessed of them, seems to prove either that this knowledge has been
propagated by tradition from their ancestors, who migrated hither from
other islands, and from the continent; or that they have had dogs upon
their island, of which the race, by some accident, is become extinct;
or lastly, that they still have an intercourse with other islands where
these animals exist.

126

I remained on board all this day, to arrange the collection of
plants and birds which we had made upon our first excursion, and which
175 was far from despicable, considering the small size of the island. The
501 natives continued to croud about our vessels in a number of canoes,
[481] whilst many were swimming to and from the shore, who were probably not
rich enough to possess a canoe. These embarkations were of different

[465 cont.]

175
648 us of the confidence and affection of his country-men. The captains
[565] brought Attagha and another chief on board with them to dinner, and
175
565 the trade was carried on as quietly as if nothing had happened. The
[576] chief who came with Attagha appeared to be of a superior rank, because
the latter, who used to sit at table with us on former occasions,
now retreated a few steps, sat down on the floor, and could not be
prevailed upon to eat in his sight. He was a blear-eyed, elderly man,
and having a great influence [466] on the people in the canoes, was
175
565 called the admiral by our sea-men. His dress did not in the least
576
[171] indicate his superior dignity, probably because these islanders are
little acquainted with the refinements of luxury, though on the
other hand they seem to behave with great submission to their men
of rank, directly contrary to what we had observed at the Society
Isles. The respect which Attagha paid to the other chief, was how-
ever trifling in comparison of that which we heard of on shore after
dinner. Here we found a well-looking middle-aged man, sitting on
the ground at the trading-place, and all the croud forming a circle
about him. Some of our sportsmen acquainted us, that they had met
with him near Maria Bay, where the other natives passing by had
prostrated themselves on the ground before him, kissed his feet,
175
565 and put them on their necks. Upon enquiry, they had been repeatedly
told, that he was the chief of the whole island, in the same manner
as Cooke (captain Cook) was chief of our ships, and that they called
him Ko-Haghee-too-Fallango (18). Whether this was his name or his

● [97]

18. Ko is the article in these Islands and at New Zealand,
which answers to the Tahitian O or E.

title I cannot determine, as we never heard it mentioned again by the

[466 cont.]

175 natives; but they all agreed in telling us, that he was their (19)

565 19. The same word in the Taheitee dialect is pronounced
197 Aree.

175 Areeghee or king. They added that his name was Latoo-Nipooroo, of

197 which we concluded [467] that the former part (Lato) was a title,

171 it being same which Schouten and Le Maire, the Dutch navigators in

[565] the year 1616, found at the Cocos, Traytors, and Horne islands,

which are situated in this neighbourhood, only a few degrees to the
northward (20). We were confirmed in this opinion by the great

20. See Dalrymple's Historical Collection of Voyages and
Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, 2 vols. quarto,
1771. London. Vol. II. p. 27, 28, &c.

correspondence of the vocabularies, which these intelligent seamen
have left us, with the language which was spoken at Tonga-Tabboo,
and still more so by the entire similarity in the behaviour and

175 customs of these islanders. The captains walked up to the Latoo,

565 and made him a number of presents, which he received with so much

431 gravity and seeming indifference, as bordered upon stupidity. Amongst

609 other things they put a shirt on him, with a great deal of trouble,
[157] because his behaviour was most awkwardly passive. He did not return

any thanks for the presents which he received, till an old woman
sitting behind him, had repeatedly excited him to express his

[201] gratitude. Upon this he held each separate article over his head,
and pronounced the word fagafetai, like the meanest of his subjects.

175 The priest, who had led our captains to the places of worship, on the

565 first day after our arrival, was seated in the same circle, and drank

276 vast quantities of the intoxicating pepper-water (21), which was
415

[477 cont.]

175
181 to satisfy the most indispensable wants of nature, could make
642 them miserable. Be this as it may, so much seems to be certain,
651 that their systems of politics and religion, from their similarity
175 with the Taheitian, as far as we could judge, must have had one
171
174 common origin, perhaps in the mother country, from whence both
these colonies issued. Single dissonant customs, and opinions
may have acceded to the primitive ideas, in proportion as various.

175 accidents, or human caprices have given rise to them. The
174 affinity of their languages is still more decisive. The greatest
197 part of the necessities of life, common to both groups of islands,
the parts of the body, in short the most obvious and universal
ideas, were expressed at the Society and Friendly Isles nearly

175 by the same words. [478] We did not find that sonorousness in the
197 Tonga-Taboo dialect, which is prevalent in that of Taheitee,
194 because the inhabitants of the former have adopted the F, K, and S,
so that their language is more replete with consonants. This
harshness is compensated however by the frequent use of the liquid
letters, L, M, N; and of the softer vowels E and I, to which we
must add that kind of singing tone, which they generally retain,
even in common conversation.---But it is time to return from this
digression.

175 We did not part from our friends till sun-set, promising to
123 return to them once more the next morning. Our ships were well
122 provided with bananas, yams, and coco-nuts; and, considering the
175 small size of the island, as well as our short stay, sixty or eighty
hogs, besides a vast number of large fowls, were a surprising

[312] acquisition. During our stay we had searched the country in vain

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)

OU9 Tonga OU9

53

127 "Hootooa" or "Otua" is currently transcribed as 'otua and defined as
192 "object of worship, deity, god; (cap.) God" (Churchward 1959: 567), and
776 the term also appears as a cognate in other parts of Polynesia (Vide
775 Williamson 1937: 9ff.).
[197]

For purposes of checking on Thomas' own internal consistency in describing the 'otua, his 1826 statement must be compared with his following entry from 1828: "Otua's, or the devil as they call their god" (Thomas, Journal, August 21, 1828). At one point in time Thomas thus refers to the 'otua as a "spirit" (1826) and elsewhere as the aboriginal

127 Tongan "Devil" or aboriginal "god" (1828). Where Thomas' two
192 descriptions would appear to be inconsistent descriptions, but consistent in the context of Wesleyan interpretations of aboriginal Tongan
776 religious beliefs, the ethnographic inconsistency is reconciled when
775 other Wesleyan missionary descriptions of the time period are considered:
797 Tongans believed that after death certain Tongans came back as spirits, and these were viewed as gods. The Wesleyan missionary Lawry provides the ethnohistorical researcher with an additional description, and also an external consistency check of Thomas, with his own description on 'otua or "Atuas."

I cannot learn that they have any knowledge of the One True God--these Atuas are the souls of departed chiefs (Lawry, Diary, October 9, 1822).

The Wesleyan missionary Watkin provides a description which serves as an external consistency check of both Lawry and Thomas. In his own Journal for 1836 Watkin wrote of the Tongans:

2 CHURCH AND STATE IN TONGA

643 supreme sanctity and giving his dynasty pre-eminence. Referring to the Tu'i Tonga, Williamson (1924, I:151) quoted Monfat, who used the records of the early Roman Catholic missionaries in Tonga, as saying:

In them the civil and political power is exalted and sanctified by the divine power; wherefore their authority is boundless. They dispose of the goods, the bodies, and the consciences of their subjects, without ceremony and without rendering account to anyone. *Tuitonga* appears, and all prostrate themselves and kiss his feet . . . The Tongans refuse him nothing, exceeding his desires. If he wishes to satisfy his anger or some cruel fancy, he sends a messenger to his victim who, far from fleeing, goes to meet death. You will see rather tie the rope round the necks of their children, whose death is demanded to prolong the life of this divinity; more than once you will see the child smile as it is being killed.

[342] Cook (1809, V:428) reported that if the Tu'i Tonga entered
[784] a house belonging to a subject it became *tapu* and could never
[145] be inhabited by its owners, so there were houses specially built for his reception when travelling. There was even a special 'language' to be used by those of lesser rank when they addressed or talked about the Tu'i Tonga, and similarly a language of respect was used in addressing or talking about other chiefs.

643 The Tu'i Tonga was both the temporal and spiritual ruler, at
173 least until the fifteenth century. While Tonga was occupied by a fairly small population, the combining of spiritual and temporal authority in the office of Tu'i Tonga appears to have worked adequately for a time. However, a succession of murders of the Tu'i Tonga during the fifteenth century led the twenty-fourth Tu'i Tonga, Kau'ulufonua Fekai, to create the new office of *hau*¹ (temporal ruler) to take over secular responsibilities while the Tu'i Tonga became '*eiki Toputapu* (sacred ruler). The new position of *hau* was given to one of Kau'ulufonua Fekai's brothers, Mo'ungamotu'a, who founded a dynasty under the title, Tu'i Ha'ataka-

[197] ¹ The term *hau* is related to the Fijian terms *sau* meaning 'prosperity, high chief, king', and *sauturaga* or 'noble king'; Capell and Lester (1946:299) conclude that the title *sau* (or *hau*) 'is shared between Fiji, Rotuma, Samoa and Tonga, with possibly an earlier stratum in Tahiti and Hawaii'. The date 1470 for the first *hau* dynasty is cited by Gifford (1929:83), Collocott (1924:179) and Wood (1932:11).

Disastrous hurricanes frequently occur, and the island has been ravaged as recently as December, 1930, February, 1931, and March, 1932. During the hurricane season Niua Fo'ou is not visited by small craft. Though the island has been so repeatedly devastated by eruptions and storms, and its condition seems to be more dangerous than that, for instance, of the uninhabited large island of Tofua, still there is no intention of abandoning it for a safer home closer to the main islands of the group.

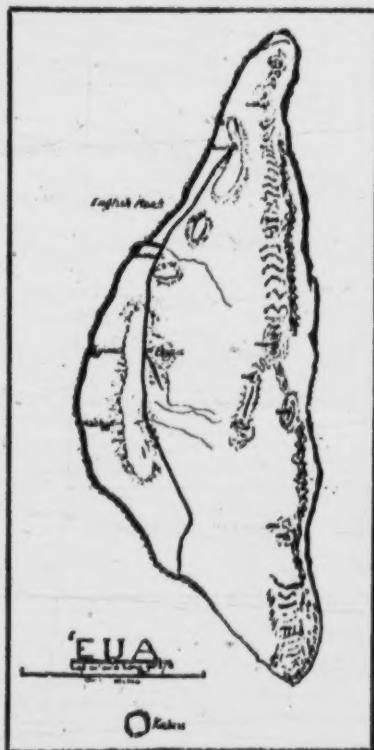
Its present population is 1,291. The inhabitants are a distinct type, with local variations of the Tongan language due to ancient contact with Samoa and Uvea, but more intercourse with the rest of the Tongan group is causing these old words to fall into comparative disuse.

The "Tin-can Mail" is Niua Fo'ou's claim to distinction. As the harbour at Agaha is inconvenient, and the sea is generally too rough for canoes, the mail is taken by swimmers to the steamer which passes from Samoa to Fiji. The outgoing mail is generally wrapped in oiled paper and tied to sticks, and the inward mail is brought back from the steamer in a sealed tin-can.

THE CHIEF CORAL ISLANDS, WITH SCENIC AND HISTORIC PLACES.

'EUA. This island, which is of great age geologically, reaches a height of 1,078 feet, and has an area of 33 square miles. Although it is as large as Vava'u and contains fertile soil in abundance, its population of 348 is most disproportionate. Its inadequate harbour at 'Ohonua and the sometimes dangerous channel between the island and Togatabu, though disadvantageous to the progress of 'Eua, do not really explain the decline in its population; this is due rather to the proximity of Nuku'alofa with its attractions. Considering that many small islands in Ha'abai support numerous taxpayers who have no allotments, the neglect of 'Eua is regrettable.

'Eua was called Middelburg by its discoverer, Tasman, and Cook had a high opinion of its beauty and fertility. This island is unique in several respects. It has several small creeks which rise from springs in the hillsides and descend to the western shore;



[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 79]

[1827]

39

amid the falling snow. He was ordained on 23 January 1822 and left England three weeks later for New Zealand where he served from 3 August 1823 to 31 January 1827. Turner and his family suffered grievously at the hands of the Maoris in one of the most hostile districts of New Zealand. He was assaulted several times and once he was injured, seemingly fatally. His wife barely escaped from another attack. The Maoris who burnt down his home at Wesleydale, Whangaroa, plundered all of Turner's belongings. They even opened up the grave of his little daughter to take the blanket which, they expected, had covered her body and then, in Turner's words, "left the remains to moulder on the surface of the earth".⁽¹³⁾ 797

A man of the calibre that could endure such losses and hardships was unlikely to quail before opposition from any quarter. His experience had fitted him in other ways for the work in Tonga. He knew the Maori language intimately and this gave him a foundation for quickly acquiring a knowledge of Tongan, which has many similar words. He understood the Maoris' habits and found many resemblances to those of the Tongans. [197]

Turner was in Sydney preparing to return to the work in New Zealand when the message of failure and anticipated retreat came from John Thomas. He decided that another abandonment of missionary work in Tonga would be disgraceful and probably fatal. Without waiting months for authority from the Missionary Committee in London he resolved that he himself should go to Tonga and take his new colleague, William Cross, with him. The Sydney brethren fully concurred in Turner's plan. The District Meeting, held in Sydney on 3 November 1827, just after Turner's departure, resolved that Thomas and Hutchinson had erred in deciding to abandon the Mission; it believed that there was no evidence to show that the people were so prejudiced as to prevent their continuing and succeeding.⁽¹⁴⁾

For going to Tonga on his own initiative Turner was afterwards "heavily censured" by the Committee in London and ordered to pay part of the expenses of travel! This was heartless indeed, if only because of Turner's heroism and the pecuniary losses he had suffered in New Zealand. The demand, too, came after he had begun the highly successful labours in Nuku'alofa that fully vindicated his decision to redeem the Tongan Mission's life from destruction. So much also for the lack of wisdom and sympathy in men living 12,000 miles away and unacquainted with local circumstances.

Strictly speaking, it is Nathaniel Turner who should be honoured as the true founder of the Wesleyan Mission, even though Lawry was the pioneer and Thomas began long and continued service. Undoubtedly, it was Turner who saved the future of the Tongan Church. His initiative, with his experience, resourcefulness and optimism, changed the situation after Thomas had planned to abandon everything.

William Cross, who accompanied and supported Turner, had just arrived from England, designated to work with Turner in New Zealand. Afterwards he won a place in missionary history as co-founder with David Cargill of the Mission to Fiji in 1835. He was born in 1797 at Cirencester, Gloucestershire; a zealous preacher, he had offered for service abroad and been ordained in London on 27 March 1827, one of the ordaining ministers being the redoubtable Missionary Secretary and dictatorial leader, Jabez Bunting.

5

Tourism in Tonga:
Troubled Times

CHARLES F. URBANOWICZ

The Kingdom of Tonga lies in the heart of fabled Polynesia, approximately 550 miles southwest of Samoa and 450 miles southeast of Fiji. The tiny kingdom encompasses approximately 289 square miles and supports an estimated (1975) population of 100,105—an average density of more than 346 persons per square mile. However, the actual usable land available for settlement is only 190 square miles, giving a true population density of 532 persons per square mile. The population is not evenly distributed and the largest island of the group, Tongatapu (100 square miles with a population of 52,000) is the economic center for the archipelago. This island has also been the historic residence of the aboriginal (Royal) leaders, and Nuku'alofa—the largest city, the capital, and the main tourist target—is located there.

Formerly a British protectorate, Tonga achieved independence in 1970 and entered the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Constitutional Monarchy dates to 1875 and the current monarch, His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, acceded to the throne in 1965. Tongan is the official language, English is the second language and most Tongans are bilingual. The population is also ethnically uniform: 98 percent of the population are Tongans, and all are stalwart Christians. The 1966 census listed 77,429 inhabitants, only 61 of whom failed to declare a religious affiliation.

Tourism is nascent in Tonga, but the number of visitors is increasing annually due to extensive overseas promotions that stress, in colorful brochures, the beauty of "unspoiled" Polynesia, where English is spoken and where there is a "real live King (and Queen)." Although Tonga is the last surviving Polynesian Kingdom, it is far from being the "storybook" land of the culture brokers. It is an overpopulated and underdeveloped tiny nation, struggling to maintain its cultural integrity in the face of twentieth-century changes. There are serious internal economic problems in Tonga, for which tourism might be the panacea. This case study

/274 cont./

871 and stories they have heard, and a truly full knowledge of this island
814 world may be assumed among only about half of these men and women. The essentials of world geography are known to approximately 25 - 80 percent, depending on their age group; for instance, there are some who are even able to draw an outline map of Europe from memory.

191 About one-fifth of the older generation and about one-third of the younger generation know English well to reasonably well (that is, they have the ability to understand English and to make themselves understood. (746)

[97]
[92]
[178] 746. The Tongan language has remained the common national language and, aside from the adoption of a number of words (for the newer concepts) borrowed from English, it apparently has not substantially changed, although for more than a century many Tongans have become acquainted with the English language (see, for example, J.E. Erskine, *Journal of a cruise...* /cited in English/ London 1853. p. 162).

178 This knowledge, however, has little practical effect on the every-
177 day life of the broad masses of natives. The essential activity needed
[191] for their subsistence is still based on the old, traditional knowledge.

[805] The Tongans of the younger generation, however, follow today for the most part the European calendar, in planting and harvesting, whereas half of the middle-aged and probably all of the old generation prefer the old Tongan "calendar"; (747)

[821] 747. The December new moon is the first moon of the year; See E.E.V. Collocott, "Tongan astronomy and calendar" /cited in English/ B.P.B.M. Occ. Papers, col. VIII, no. 4. 1922.

weddings and other festivities, however, are quite generally scheduled
803 according to the European calendar. Arithmetic has gained a certain significance in the everyday life of the natives, especially in selling
000 their copra and in their shopping in stores. Many older Tongan men and